WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 11, NUMBER 8 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | DECEMBER 2000

"The best index to a person's character is how he treats people who can't do him any good, and how he treats people who can't fight back."
-- Abigail Van Buren

Coalition Seeks Labor Standards in Public Institution's Garment Purchases

Mitch Chanin

Over the past several years, the garment industry has become notorious for its terrible treatment of its workers, and activists around the U.S. have been working in many different ways to help workers both here and abroad to improve their conditions. One extremely hopeful strategy is to push the institutions that are supposed to be accountable to us, such as our schools and our city governments, to set labor rights standards for the clothes they buy and to enforce those standards.

A widespread movement against sweatshops has been developing. In the past two years, student activists at colleges around the country have pushed their administrations to establish "codes of conduct" that require companies that use their logos to respect their workers' rights, to pay living wages. and to allow unionization. At the same time, union activists and community activists have been pushing local governments to pass laws setting standards for the uniforms and other clothes that public agencies buy.

Much of the clothing that city workers here in Olympia are required to wear and that local high schools and colleges buy is produced under horrendous conditions. A group of community activists, teachers, and college and high school students has come together to create a new anti-sweatshop/workers' rights coalition. We are working to educate about these issues and to win changes in the buying policies of several different institutions at once, and the more we work together and support each other, the more we can accomplish. We hope that our campaign can bring together a really broad range of people—please come and learn how you can get involved.

If you have any questions or suggestions, call Mitch Chanin at 570-9989.

You are invited to a community meeting on **Wednesday, December 6th** to learn about a campaign just getting started in our area to set labor standards for the clothing that the City of Olympia, local high schools and colleges, and other public institutions buy. The meeting will last from 6:30 until 8:30pm, and it will be held at Traditions Cafe. There will also be a separate meeting at 5pm just for students and other people connected with high schools and colleges, but we're hoping that most of the people from it will stay and participate in the general meeting too.

We're compiling some materials to distribute at the meeting, including some "how to plan your campaign" guides from United Students Against Sweatshops, sample codes of conduct from colleges from around the country, and some information about how the Workers Rights Consortium is planning to do its monitoring work.

The basic plan we've come up with for the general meeting is:

1. Introductions
2. Summary of what we're hoping to do in Olympia, what's being done in other places around the country, and what we've done here so far
3. Break up into working groups, one to focus on high schools and colleges, and the other to focus on local governments
4. Come back together, compare action plans, figure out what tasks are common to both groups and how the two groups can work together most effectively
5. Summarize what we're all going to do between now and the next meeting
6. Plan the agenda for the next meeting and discuss how we can best organize the overall group—what are the best ways for each person in the group to get information and to communicate with others? What coordinating work needs to be done, and who can do it?

●

Americans Aren't Given Good Enough Information on Palestinian Struggle

Tom Wright

The present crisis in the Middle East is grave and deeply disturbing. A strange threshold has been crossed. We seem to be entering a period of widening instability, with unpredictable potential for destruction. Long in the making, this new uprising should surprise no one, yet for the vast majority of Americans, "informed" only by the distortions of the mass media, these events will be completely misunderstood.

The bias and shameful one-sidedness of American journalism is so suffocating, so total in its promotion of the Israeli viewpoint, that even to present basic historical facts is to take a radical position. The deceptions operate at many levels: they are subtle or blunt, simple or complex, deliberate or unconscious. But they permeate our culture, conditioning us to accept the terrible level of violence about to be unleashed on the Palestinian people.

Reuel Marc Gerecht in the *New York Times* dishes out the boilerplate explanation for people who would prefer not to think. The troubles, he says, are simply the "violent expressions of the age-old confrontation between Islam and the West" (Oct. 14). We are naive if we think our "tradition of toleration, moderation and compromise can transcend the religions and animosities of older societies." Therefore we should abandon the "peace process" and simply enforce our will with violence. On the same page, the liberal Anthony Lewis offers an opinion which is indistinguishable: the violence is completely the fault of the Palestinians. Arafat refused to show any "flexibility" at Camp David and preferred to "move from the negotiating table into the streets." Israel "offered concessions that were surely a basis for agreement," says Lewis, which even "came close" to giving Palestinians "a state in most of the West Bank and Gaza with its capital in East Jerusalem." This is so far from reality that one must read the line again to see if the eyes are playing tricks. In fact, Israel demanded sovereignty over <u>all</u> of Jerusalem, including the Islamic shrines, offering only limited control over civil administration for the city's 200,000 Palestinian residents. Lewis gives no specifics, so his deceptions will be concealed, and he knows that the U.S. media will provide no context or background to expose the

We learn nothing from our media of the real lives of Palestinians.

(Continued page 9)

We can *DO* something about child labor and sweatshops!

The Minnesota Sweatfree Schools campaign believes that schools have a responsibility to set an example, to not contribute to a system that profits from the exploitation of children and adults, and to <u>take an active role</u> in creating a better society.

- **Child labor <u>is wrong.</u>**
  Children should have the opportunity to go to school.
- **Sweatshops <u>are wrong</u>.**
  All workers should have the right to fair treatment, decent working conditions and a living wage

The campaign calls upon Minnesota schools to adopt and implement a purchasing <u>Code Of Conduct</u> requiring that items of apparel, soccer balls, softballs and baseballs purchased by the school not be made in sweatshops or by child labor.

Minnesota Sweatfree Schools, one of several similar efforts in the United States, offers an opportunity for students, educators and the community to act locally to address a global problem. Minnesota Sweatfree Schools invites all Minnesota schools to take simple steps toward ending child labor and sweatshop abuse and creating positive social change by:

- Educating the first generation of consumers in a truly global economy about the pervasive reality of sweatshops and child labor, and
- Adopting and implementing the Code of Conduct for the Manufacture of Apparel and Sporting Goods.

"The textile and apparel industries are a showcase of horrors for the labor abuses sanctioned by the global free trade economy, where child labor, wage slavery and employer cruelty are legion."
- NO SWEAT: Fashion, Free Trade and the Rights of Garment Workers, Andrew Ross, ed. 1997

"Most of the world's 30 to 40 million soccer balls sold each year are made in Pakistan. Children as young as 6 years old hand stitch an estimated 25% of them. These children earn approximately $1.50/day for 10 hours of work, leaving them no time for schooling."
- Eye to Eye: Foul Ball, a Canadian TV documentary

The items targeted by the MSSC, produced by industries in which worker abuse is rampant, are:

- **Sweatshirts, caps, letter jackets, and other clothing imprinted with the school's name or logo;**
- **Sports uniforms, including gym uniforms**
- **Shoes, athletic shoes or sneakers**
- **Required school uniforms**
- **Academic regalia**
- **Staff Uniforms**
- **Soccer balls, baseballs, and softballs**

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Correspondence, articles, art, and photographs are always welcome. Please, when possible, put articles on a 3.5" IBM-compatible disk (text preferred) or via e-mail. Artwork and photos should be camera-ready/ black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295, wip@ olywa.net

Back Issues:

Get your catalog of indexed WIPs below. Some back issues are available in the Olympia Timberland Library. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

WORKERS IN PROGRESS

Tristan Baurick	Jerome Johnson
Dave Campbell	Margaret Love
Chelsea Chase	Wendy Ortiz
Sebastian Chase	Hali Panneton
Renee Cruickshank	Tara Perkins
Megan Davis	Jeff Sowers
Carter Hick	Sylvia Smith
Frank Hoffman	Pat Tassoni
Teresa Jennings	Alice Zillah
Evelyn Montagne	Marie Smith

Mission Statement:

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause:

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Governing Tool:

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

Letters, briefs, etc.

Welfare Rights Organizing

WROC will present the offiial public Report Card 2000 to DSHS which is the results of a survey which asks welfare recipients to grade the customer service they receive while at their local welfare offices and to grade Washington's welfare reform program, WorkFirst.

Monday, Dec. 4th at 10am the Report Card will be delivered to Regional Administrator Billie Hartline and demand he make changes within his region to ensure welfare recipients are treated fairly, with respect and are properly informed of their rights within the welfare system. The Report Card shows an overall grade for customer service of a C-.

WROC's planning and organizing meetings take place the **first Monday of each month from 5:30pm until 8pm at First United Methodist Church**, 5th and Boundary, downtown. WROC's support and information meeting is the third Tuesday of the month at Evergreen Vista Apartments, on the West Side of Olympia. Dinner and free childcare are provided at all meetings, and people can call 352-9716 for more info.

PFLAG's Meeting

Sunday, Dec. 10th at 2pm
United Methodist Church

Annual Holiday Party: Come and celebrate this season of many holidays! Bring some food or beverage to share, and let's celbrate and brighten up the long days of the year. Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays is here to promote the health and well-being of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered persons, their families and friends through: support, to cope with an adverse society; education, to enlighten an ill-informed public; and advocacy, to end discrimination and to secure equal civil rights. PFLAG provides opportunity for dialogue about sexual orientation and gender identity, and acts to create a society that is healthy and respectful of human diversity. Call 866-0511 for info.

Right To Know Campaign

Did you Know?

- Much of the food on our supermarket shelves has been genetically engineered
- Europe has banned the sale of genetically engineered (GE) foods
- In the USA, no GE food products are labeled as such

You can do something about it!

Join the "Mothers and Fathers for Safe Foods" to organize the fight to have all GE food products labeled. Help plan a state initiative to require mandatory labeling of GE foods. Contact Michael at (360) 413-6961, <goldenspirit1@earthlink.net> or <www.safefood.org>.

Tenant Relocation Money Tacked onto Rezone Proposal

The Olympia City Council made certain requirements of landlord Bob Greenway's proposal to rezone a half-block on Union Ave so he can redevelop 20-units of rental housing. Included is a concrete proposal from Greenway that includes housing in the redevelopment (rather than just offices) and money for tenant residents to ease their displacement when the old buildings are demolished. The City will make its final deci-

(Continued page 11)

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, Dec. 22nd

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, Dec. 26th
6:30pm at Olympia Timberland Library

Everyone Welcome!

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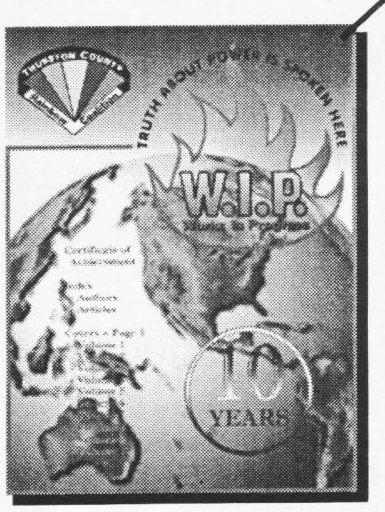
☐ Lifetime Subscriber ... $200 ☐ 1/2 Life Subscriber... $100 ☐ Pet Life Subscriber... $50

Merchandise:

☐ WIP Flame LogoT-Shirt . . . $15 each; # _____ size(s)_____

☐ WIP 10-year Retrospective Scrapbook of Covers + Page One . . . $15 each

☐ Catalog/Index Listing...$1; back issues...$1/each (while supplies last)



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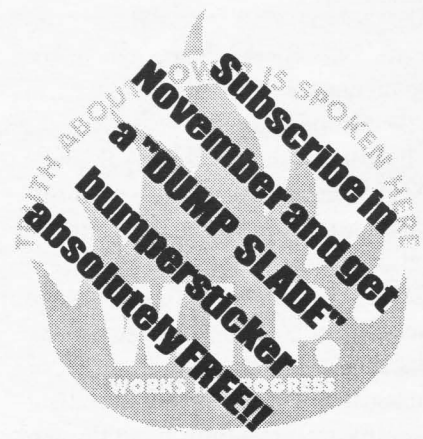

DECEMBER 2000

David R. Brower (1912 - 2000)

Credo for the Earth

There is but one ocean though its coves have many names;
a single sea of atmosphere with no coves at all;
the miracle of soil, alive and giving life, lying thin on the only earth,
for which there is no spare.
We seek a renewed stirring of love for the earth.
We plead that what we are capable of doing to it is often what we ought not to do.
We urge that all people now determine that an untrammeled wildness shall remain here
to testify that this generation had love for the next.

We would celebrate a new renaissance.
The old one found a way exploit.
The new one has discovered the Earth's limits. Knowing them,
we may learn anew what compassion and beauty are, and pause to listen to the Earth's music.

We may see that progress is not the accelerating speed with which we multiply
and subdue the Earth nor the growing number of things we possess and cling to.
It is a way along which to search for truth, to find serenity and love and reverence for life,
to be part of an enduring harmony, trying hard not to sing out of tune.

- David Brower

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
NOVEMBER S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 JANUARY S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	"David Brower challenged us to comprehend both the awesome beauty of creation and the awesome responsibility we have to preserve it. Whether we meet that challenge will determine nothing less than our survival." Dan Hamburg				**1** **1999**: Seattle police attack WTO protesters **1999**: Seattle listed as the eighth most mannerly US city	**2** **1999**: 600 jailed WTO protesters allowed to see lawyers after those rallying for their release outside the jail leave
3 **1999**: Seattle: 1000s of WTO protesters march **1999**: Gas mask supplier will sue Seattle for outlawing gas masks	**4** **1867**: Oliver Kelley founds Patrons of Husbandry (the Grange) **1999**: The WTO conference ends in failure	**5** **1999**: AFL-CIO chief, Sweeney welcomes the failure of WTO talks in Seattle, "No deal is better than a bad deal."	**6** **1999**: US Dist Court reports Treasury Dept destroyed documents on gov. mismanagement of native land trusts	**7** **1999**: 300 residents of southeast of Tolmie State Park are told to boil drinking water due to E. coli contamination	**8** **1999**: IT eliminates most urban routes **1999**: Seattle residents testify at meeting on WTO police abuses	**9** **1999**: City of Seattle hires crowd-control expert to evaluate preparations for the WTO conference
10 **1999**: Hawaii nixes same-sex marriages **1999**: 340 more homes are told to boil their water	**11** **1999**: Clinton admits "don't ask, don't tell" policy doesn't work **1999**: Gore says Elian's dad should come to US	**12** **1999**: Study claims 1/3 of HIV patients give up on medical care because they can't afford it or haven't the time	**13** **1763**: Penn. mobs attack peaceful natives **1999**: Surgeon General Satcher says one in five have a mental illness	**14** **1999**: Meat processors now allowed to irradiate raw meat if labeled **1999**: Charles Schulz announces retirement	**15** **1999**: Curt Pavola is selected to fill the Olympia City Council seat vacated by Mayor-elect Stan Biles	**16** **1999**: Wall Street brokers receive record $13 billion in bonuses **1999**: Oct trade deficit at record $25.9 billion
17 **1999**: 95 IT workers receive layoff notices **1999**: Olympia area is the fastest growing area in the Pacific Northwest	**18** **1999**: Julia "Butterfly" Hill ends 2 years in tree **1999**: Wife announces Reagan no longer capable of conversation	**19** **1999**: Lacey lifts its boil water advisory **1999**: Seattle survey blames Mayor Schell for WTO police abuses	**20** **1999**: Vermont Supreme Court rules homosexual entitled to benefits and protections as wedded couples	**21** **1999**: Fed. judge rules federal government has failed American Natives in management of the trust fund system	**22** **1999**: Federal report states dredging of Columbia River may harm the Columbian white-tailed deer	**23** **1617**: English Crown institutes Virginia penal colony to receive habitual criminals exiled from their country
24 **1997**: Federal judge okays swap of logged Weyerhaeuser land for public land containing old-growth trees	**25** **1865**: Chicago opens the Union stockyards and changes the business patterns of the prairies	**26** **1997**: 2 women found dead in Spokane culvert **1999**: Time magazine names Albert Einstein Person of the Century	**27** **1999**: Seattle cancels New Year celebration **1999**: Police Chief Stamper takes blame for WTO decisions	**28** **1846**: Iowa joins as a free state **1999**: WA St Patrol will allow Dec 1999 licence tabs until Jan 10th	**29** **1999**: WA St Dental Assoc announces it will push for mandatory fluoridation in public water supplies	**30** **1936**: UAW "sit-down" strike in Flint begins **1999**: WA State capitol closed to public for security /Y2K reasons
31 **1997**: Michael Kennedy dies in skiing accident **1999**: Yeltsin announces his resignation	"We do not inherit the earth from our fathers, we are borrowing it from our children."...later amended to... "We're not borrowing from our children, we're stealing from them and it's not even considered to be a crime." David Brower				"Gore and Clinton have done more harm to the environment than Reagan and Bush combined." David Brower	

Up Front

An Election to Remember

Jerome Johnson

"Let me explain something. Your younger brother is not the authority on this."

—Al Gore, speaking via phone to George W. Bush, 7 November 2000

Carefully discarded ballots.

Voters denied new ballots at the polls.

A rabidly partisan Republican Secretary of State.

A brother "counted on to deliver" a state he governs.

Howls of rage and anguish when efforts are made to count ALL votes.

Welcome to Florida, Election 2000, my friends. At stake: 25 electoral votes, and the presidency of this country.

I don't know who will win yet, although I'm afraid it will be Dubya—by hook or by crook, and he—like the rest of the Republicans—are so desperate for the White House that they don't care how they get there. Within moments late on Election Night—with the issue very much in question—Dubya & Co. have acted as if they won the election. Not only that, but he's acted as if he won by a landslide, announcing plans for his transition and accusing Gore of trying to steal the election—can you believe it?—because Gore has rightly insisted on as complete a vote count as possible.

Reality check, Governor Bush: at this point you are LOSING. Gore beat you in the popular vote and is leading in the archaic Electoral College. The childish yapping from Austin ignores this basic truth—but ignoring it will not make it disappear and ignoring it won't make you president. This irony is even more compelling when take into account the ludicrous suggestions that Gore concede. Hell, Governor—you lost. You concede—but somehow I just don't think you're a big enough man to do that.

But Dubya and his people don't like reality, so they're using the Big Lie technique: tell a BIG lie and repeat it often. If you do this, people will start to believe it and make it become true. That's precisely what Dubya and his handlers are doing now. By whining to "get the election over" now, and posturing as winner, they hope to make people forget that Dubya actually lost. They want the the incomplete Florida vote certified so that they can proclaim Dubya president, and hopefully get him sworn in before anyone wakes up and realizes that he isn't the people's choice, and do something about it.

Big Lie technique: tell a BIG lie and repeat it often. If you do this, people will start to believe it and make it become true.

Since the election, Dubya's been acting like a spoiled brat who didn't get something Daddy promised him. He was told he'd be president, and he may well not be. This is hard for him to understand because Daddy and brother Jeb—assisted by Katherine Hughes, Florida's rabidly partisan Secretary of State—have assured him that Florida was already taken care of, don't worry. He and his campaign are showing their true GOP colors, bringing to the election dispute all the familiar statics we've come to know and loathe from the GOP—name-calling, back-biting, raw power lust spiced with vitriol at anyone who would dare question the Bush family's and the Republicans' Right to Rule. Led by fellow Texan and ex-US Secretary of State James Baker—one of Daddy's Cold Warriors—the Bush campaign's shrill demands to power get worse and worse. Lately they've practically called anyone questioning military absentee ballots a traitor. This is sickening because once again, Dubya & Co. are trying to exploit the military people for their benefit. To hear them tell it, everyone in the armed forces is a red-meat Republican who automatically supports Dubya just because he says they do. It isn't about preserving the vote, it's about their lust for power, because they need every vote they can beg, borrow or steal.

Well, Dubya would be interested to hear the conversation I had with a woman at the craft store the other day. Her grandson in a Navy officer overseas, serving aboard an aircraft carrier. The woman told me that she was skeptical of both Bush and Gore. But, she said, everyone her son knows is absolutely terrified of Dubya getting elected. If he's president, she said, he would get out of the Navy as fast as he could—and so would many other sailors he knows.

Listening to other people around the country, I'm struck by two prevailing sentiments at this time. From the Republicans, a violent insistence that the election process be aborted RIGHT NOW so they can crown Dubya and get their hands back onto the White House again. With a majority in Congress, they're salivating at power. From the rest of us, an assurance that the system can work (somewhat) and that it can take as long as it takes—as long as it's done right.

I don't know how this will end. It's riveting, and if anyone who read my column last month was still skeptical about the importance of voting, I think this election has made my argument. At this point the case is going to the US Supreme Court.

Some people say that Floridians should vote again in a special election. I know this may raise some hackles in the progressive community, but I suggest just the opposite. I suggest that, due to the innumerable irregularities, the Electoral College nullify Florida's votes. If everyone's vote can't count, no one's should. Without Florida, the College votes. The election comes to a close. At this point the winner would be Gore.

In Asia, Bill Clinton is warmly welcomed in Vietnam.

In Japan, Alberto Fujimori begins retirement.

In Atlanta, a nation bids farewell to the legendary Hosea Williams.

And in Thurston County, residents of Nisqually continue to fight against an asphalt plant. ●

Push Clinton to Free Leonard Peltier

As many of you know President Clinton has stated that he will rule on Leonard Peltier's appeal for clemency before he leaves office. He has stated that there is strong support for and against clemency and that he will consider both in his decision.

The forces that stand against Leonard, mostly the FBI and their supporters, have done some powerful public organizing to influence Clinton against clemency. The FBI's statements have been proven lies. The fact is that the FBI is the most powerful political police in the world and in the history of the world and they have not only used their power to suppress parts of the Native movement, but also they have acted against every movement they saw as threatening the political repressive system they act to support. We saw it in the Civil Rights movement and what they did to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, we saw it in the peace movement, we saw it in all the movements of people of color, we saw it in the labor movement, we saw it in the environmental movement (remember Judi Bari), and we have seen it in so many other movements. We even have seen it in the anti-globalization movement of today.

The time is now to stand up to the FBI and political repression for the benefit of all movements, all people and the future generations. Leonard Peltier was a Northwest activist. He lived in Seattle and was a part of the movement in Seattle. He did not just involve himself in the Native struggle in our region, but as many people who knew him back then can tell you, he actively supported many struggles and was always a person you could count on if you were in need, he has continued to be that same type of person in prison.

Given Leonard's direct connection to our region, we, the social justice activists of this region, need to voice strong support for Leonard at this time. Do not everything else that you are doing in order to support Leonard. But do give a little time to support Leonard and please use the other things that you do as resources to mobilize support for Leonard. A good example is the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 587 of Seattle and Olympic peninsula areas on October 16th passed a resolution in support of clemency and sent it to Clinton. This is a very hard and important struggle and time in history. Each and everyone of you can help make a difference. Please read below the things that you can do to help and please help where you can.

THINGS YOU CAN DO IN THE NORTHWEST TO HELP

1. Send messages in support of clemency for Leonard Peltier, by phone, fax, mail and/or e-mail to:
   President Bill Clinton
   The White House
   1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
   Washington, D.C., 20500 USA
   Fax: (202) 456-2461
   White House Comments Line: (202) 456-1111
   E-Mail: president@whitehouse.gov
2. Ask your family and friends to also send messages to Clinton.
3. Get unions, churches and other organizations to pass resolutions in support of clemency for Leonard Peltier and send them to President Clinton.
4. Send a donation to the NWLPSN. We are hoping to organize a march and rally in Tacoma, do a large mailing to supporters, and possibly run ads in newspapers. The NWLPSN has done so much so far this fall that we have used up what money we raised.
6. Educate yourself on Leonard's case by checking out the following web site: <www.freepeltier.org>.

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All of Us - - - - - - - -

by Frank Hoffman

Why should governments exist among people? Governments direct and control actions of citizens (according to my dictionary.) Should we take it for granted that a people requires direction and control? Do governments reflect the basic values of a people or do governments form, directly and indirectly, those values? Can ordinary people like us come up with reasonable answers that are acceptable to a majority?

Most of us are forced to deal with how we as a people have answered these questions, all the time, everyday. Government is involved in everything from the electricity that fires our alarm clock in the morning to the content of the blanket we tuck under our child's chin at night. And the people we have counted on to do the right things are messing up - royally. The Bushes, the Gores. Bill Clinton turns his back on the American people for a blow job. The thing is, I can sympathize. This tubby old guy, face to face with a thong, his brain turns off and his whole life loses its focus and meaning. We expect him to solve the conflict between Israel and Palestine? Well, the sad thing, the disturbing thing, is we do. We have no choice. It's possible. And he's probably no worse than Barak and Arafat. Maybe we should have a choice, though. Maybe we could do better. Maybe we would. Bill Clinton and John Kennedy. Kennedy brought girlfriends into the Whitehouse and sent "advisors" to Vietnam. The Republicans? The Republicans bomb Baghdad because they are being called sissies and after killing all those women and children (never got Saddam), try to convince us they're compassionate! Then there's Ralph Nader, the guy who's going to save us from ourselves.

We, the governed, need to take more interest. Our Constitution, despite all its kinks, is set up for that. Before we can do good together, though, we need to learn how to get along. We need to admit, up front, that the white men in suits do not want us to get along. And they own everything: the books, the newspapers, the television stations, most everything that conveys those cultural values and, this is the kicker - all the jobs. And poor white men need those jobs.

Let's talk about poor white men a minute. And when I say "poor", I mean somebody who doesn't have much money and probably pretty limited prospects, and chances are that was the case for their parents, too. The media I mentioned are owned by fewer and fewer men in suits and they do not show low income people, they ignore them. Particularly poor white men and Native Americans. Indians, it seems to me, are described in the media, on the average, over time, as drunks who lost the Indian Wars. Poor white men, when they are shown or portrayed at all, again, on the average, over time, are shown as spindly people with oddly shaped heads, covered with baseball caps. They appear to be dumb, talk funny and are, without exception, bigots. Low income women - well it's o.k. to give "charity" to poor white women, while they are between waitressing jobs, but chances are, poor black women are described as "not deserving," according, again, to the media (and the Congress.)

Military barracks may be the only place where poor white and poor black men work it out, pull together, facing in that situation an initial common enemy, the officers. What seems to be the case elsewhere, are white men drinking cheap beer in fly-bitten taverns and black men in prison.

Neither group having real hope of brighter futures.

It's not going to work out with the poor fighting each other. Is it?

It's not going to work out if we hold on to the need to have somebody be less than us. We need to go forward arm in arm. Everybody has value, including poor white men. And we need to take God out of it. Everybody seems to think God is on their side, well maybe God don't take sides. Maybe God, whatever starts life, expects us to figure it out together. Expects us to delight in life and to keep it going as best we can.

And, maybe, if we don't get wholeheartedly involved in "government", things will keep getting worse for us and it doesn't have to be that way. We have the ability to not only work together well, but to make things better for all of us. All of us! ●

Tim Eyman: My Leader - - - -

by Frank Hoffman

I'm sure glad Tim Eyman is there with his initiatives outsmarting our legislature. What do those dummies know. They're not nearly as smart as my bud, Tim. I mean, do you see their pictures in the paper as often as his? No, you don't. It's because those reporters know he's right and the politicians are wrong! I mean, who elects those politicians anyhow?

Uh, you and I do, but everybody knows we need help figuring out where our money should go. Tim knows, for certain, we should be spending our money on asphalt and concrete, for example. He knows car exhaust fumes are healthy, and the more cars and the bigger, well of course the better.

And if we run out of air to breathe and places to grow sugar beets, they'll come up with something, right! So people shouldn't be penalized for driving down the road in their big gas hogs, like Tim,and besides, Tim and us don't need the services those taxes and fees pay for, do we?

Do we ride the bus? Do our friends ride the bus? (Don't tell Tim, o.k.?)

And taxes are bad, aren't they, paricularly property taxes. Assuming you own property that is,(and you don't rent like I do and half the people in town.) Tim says County Commissioners and City Councils need reined in because they are driving down the streets in their government cars throwing our money out the car windows. Well, that makes Tim angry.

And he is going to put a stop to it. If we sign on, that is, by putting our names on another of his petitions or are they initiatives? And we don't have to sign on if we don't want to, do we, only if we want to lower our taxes and save our money from those scum. This throwing money out of car windows has got to stop -- Tim says so. And he is my leader. He tells me he speaks for me and my friends (and, yes, we do have a secret salute.). ●

Tools for White Guys

who are Working for Social Change and other people socialized in a society based on domination

From the Colours of Resistance webpage http://www.tao.ca/~colours

1. Practice noticing who's in the room at meetings - how many men, how many women, how many white people, how many people of color, is it majority heterosexual, are there out queers, what are people's class backgrounds. Don't assume to know people, but also work at being more aware.

2a. Count how many times you speak and keep track of how long you speak.

2b. Count how many times other people speak and keep track of how long they speak.

3. Be conscious of how often you are actively listening to what other people are saying as opposed to just waiting your turn and/or thinking about what you'll say next.

4. Practice going to meetings focused on listening and learning; go to some meetings and do not speak at all.

5a. Count how many times you put ideas out to the group.

5b. Count how many times you support other people's ideas for the group.

6. Practice supporting people by asking them to expand on ideas and get more in-depth, before you decide to support the idea or not.

7a. Think about whose work and contribution to the group gets recognized.

7b. Practice recognizing more people for the work they do and try to do it more often.

8. Practice asking more people what they think about meetings, ideas, actions, strategy and vision. White guys tend to talk amongst themselves and develop strong bonds that manifest in organizing. This creates an internal organizing culture that is alienating for most people. Developing respect and solidarity across race, class, gender and sexuality is complex and difficult, but absolutely critical - and liberating.

9. Be aware of how often you ask people to do something as opposed to asking other people "what needs to be done".

10. Think about and struggle with the saying, "you will be needed in the movement when you realize that you are not needed in the movement".

11. Struggle with and work with the model of group leadership that says that the responsibility of leaders is to help develop more leaders, and think about what this means to you.

12. Remember that social change is a process, and that our individual transformation and individual liberation is intimately interconnected with social transformation and social liberation. Life is profoundly complex and there are many contradictions. Remember that the path we travel is guided by love, dignity and respect - even when it is bumpy and difficult to navigate.

13. This list is not limited to white guys, nor is it intended to reduce all white guys into one category. This list is intended to disrupt patterns of domination which hurt our movement and hurt each other. White guys have a lot of work to do, but it is the kind of work that makes life worth living.

14. Day-to-day patterns of domination are the glue that maintain systems of domination. The struggle against capitalism, white ssupremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and the state, is also the struggle towards collective liberation.

15. No one is free until all of us are free.

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A Year Later: Finding Hope After Seattle

Chris Dixon

Just over a year ago thousands of us were preparing for an uncertain showdown with global capital in Seattle. Yet we barely realized that we were about to initiate some of the most successful protests in recent U.S. history. In truth, hardly anyone believed that we would have any major impact on corporate globalization. At best, we hoped that we might be a significant blip on the nightly news and perhaps a noticeable inconvenience to trade delegates at the WTO Ministerial.

To our shock, though, what we were able to accomplish spun far beyond our wildest expectations. And it was more than the sheer number of protestors or the final paralysis of the Ministerial. In Seattle we experienced our collective power, learned daily lessons from each other, and realized that we could win. In short, we developed a new capacity for resistance with a vital sense of inspiration.

Now, having recently passed the anniversary of the WTO protests, we sit in a markedly different place. The events of the past year have been a mixed bag, but the momentum of Seattle is still alive. Indeed, many are beginning to tentatively refer to 'the movement' with seriousness nearly unheard during the last twenty-five years. Now more than ever, I think it's important to take pause to reflect on where we, the broad left, stand in relation to what went down in Seattle. As one activist who helped launch the Direct Action Network and put out the original call to shut down the Ministerial, I'd like to offer some thoughts to this crucial dialogue.

There are many ways, of course, to make sense of the WTO protests. Here I want to consider them mainly in terms of a common theme that has emerged in activist conversations: hope. Many young folks admit that Seattle and subsequent mobilizations forever changed how they think about the potential for social transformation and mass action. As activist Raj Patel observes about the a16 actions against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in D.C., "There was a real feeling, as we sat in the rain on Monday, and as our comrades were arrested, that there is a genuine possibility for progressive social change."

Meanwhile, older activists describe renewed commitment and energy. Some had waited for decades to feel the expansive sense of hope that Seattle brought. I have even heard that more than a few marched for the first time since the early seventies, when the anti-war movement crumbled. In fact, hope was perhaps one of our most significant gains in Seattle.

There is no secret to it. Our determined and imaginative organizing leading up to the WTO protests, combined with our astounding victories in the streets, was a deeply heartening experience for the thousands of us who were there, not to mention the countless others who watched and celebrated from elsewhere. For once, our ambitious rhetoric ("shutting down the WTO") became a reality. And we left Seattle bruised, tired, but profoundly inspired.

Since then, the at times haphazard organizing model from the WTO protests has been redefined and re-created across the globe. International days of action like n30, complete with the requisite abbreviated symbols (a16, s11, s26), are happening more and more. All the while, in many of the communities I visit, I discover that—no joke—for every one of us who organized for Seattle, roughly five new folks are taking on activist commitments. Presumably, the hope that we discovered at the WTO Ministerial has grown contagious. What else might explain the dedication of so many to carry Seattle's success from D.C. to London, Windsor to Melbourne, LA to Prague?

Look closely, though. Each successive mobilization has certainly energized, radicalized, and won on its own terms, but each has also been accompanied by a letdown. None can quite live up to the size, widespread media coverage, and success of Seattle. Plus, the time and energy required to organize and even participate in each mobilization is literally staggering, often leaving activists and organizational resources exhausted. And folks truly are tired. In the words of radical journalist L.A. Kauffman, "If there's one point on which everyone in the movement seems to agree, it's that action-hopping is getting old." Meanwhile, state repression has intensified, which translates into more preempted, jailed, and generally worn activists. Consequently, it's no surprise that some are feeling disheartened and uncertain.

We definitely haven't lost our collective sense of hope, but it is waning—which is no good. We need sources of hope if this really is going to become a sustained movement rather than an historical episode. "Hope," as bell hooks says, "is essential to any political struggle for radical change when the overall social climate promotes disillusionment and despair." And this isn't a blithe, feel-good kind of hope. No, this is hope on the ground, hope like we glimpsed briefly in Seattle, *real* hope generated by the social struggles around us and abroad. Without it, we risk forgetting not only that we can in fact fundamentally transform society as it is—seemingly immutable but not unalterable—but also that we have the *capacity* to challenge and change it.

We need to continue engaging in major collective actions that significantly challenge the legitimacy of existing institutions.

Here, however, is the kicker: if we're going to sustain our hope and our budding movement, we have to seriously rethink what constitutes 'radical activism.' We have to stop solely hinging our hopes and focusing exclusively on mass mobilizations, expecting each to be "the next Seattle." In other words, I'm strongly cautioning against a myopic view that the most 'important' activism only or mainly happens in the streets, enmeshed in police confrontations. This view sidesteps crucial questions of privilege and accessibility, and avoids the reality that social change happens on multiple levels—all while obscuring other inspirational, though less 'high-profile,' activist work around us.

Questions of privilege

My sense is that most folks within the direct action milieu are familiar with at least some of these criticisms. I'm not the first and certainly not the most articulate to level them. I think, though, that they're worth briefly repeating, particularly since many young white, middle-class radicals (myself included) often acknowledge them without really reflecting on them.

Broadly, they can be distilled into a single question: Who can afford to action-hop? And we must understand that word *afford* with its many meanings: Who can afford to travel across the country, or even the world? Who can afford to risk their bodies in potentially dangerous police confrontations? Who can afford to be away from family and/or work responsibilities for uncertain periods of time? Who can afford to risk their legal statuses with the possibility of arrest? Altogether, not many people.

A key problem, then, with the focus on mass mobilizations is the underlying idea that we, as people who seek social change, must each take great risks and make huge commitments in very prescribed ways—and that all of us can afford to do that. Yet this just doesn't face reality. When many folks are working one, two, or even three jobs, taking care of family members, and dealing with immediate crises, they simply can't devote all of their time to activist efforts. Indeed, many people are concerned about simple survival—feeding their kids, getting some work or getting to work, paying the rent, keeping out of jail, staying healthy with limited or no access to health care.

More to the point, direct action as a central tactic of mass mobilizations can implicitly assume a certain degree of privilege—white privilege, specifically—with dire consequences. As anti-capitalist organizer Helen Luu explains, "I think that the emphasis on this method alone often works to exclude people of colour because what is not being taken into account is the relationship between the racist (in)justice system and people of colour." White working-class and poor people, also frequently veterans of police repression, face some similar forms of exclusion.

Further, in the flurry of action-hopping, the focus has so far remained largely global. And many mobilization organizers continue to frame issues that way. Whether it's the WTO, the World Bank, or Al Gore's investments in Occidental Petroleum (all worthy targets, by the way), the connections to everyday lives are frequently lost. What about privatization of city services as neoliberalism on the home front? What about welfare "reform" as domestic structural adjustment? What about daily police brutality and prison growth as massive state repression? The connections are all there, as are the activists working to challenge these injustices, yet often predominantly white, middle-

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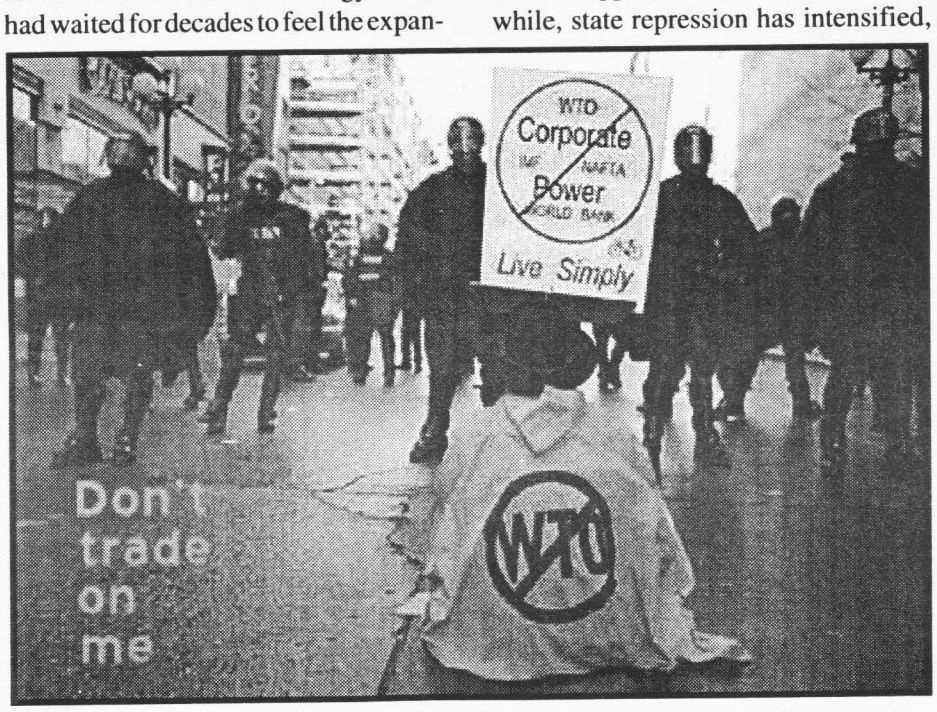
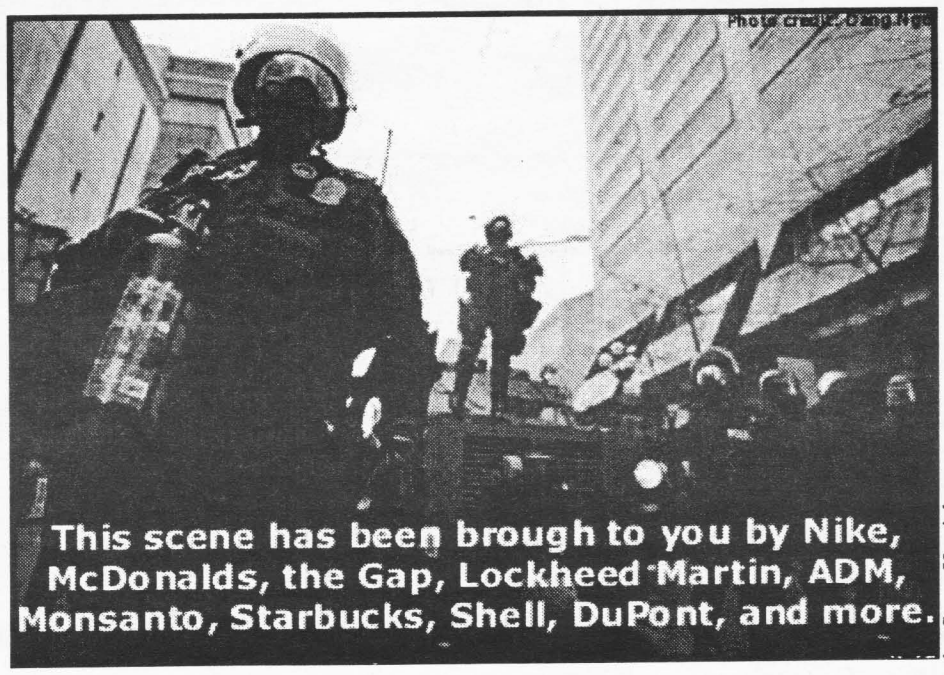


by Steve Herrick


This scene has been brough to you by Nike, McDonalds, the Gap, Lockheed Martin, ADM, Monsanto, Starbucks, Shell, DuPont, and more.

by Steve Herrick

(Seattle, continued)

class radicals aren't making them.

For those of us who can afford to action-hop, it's easy to overlook how exclusive, inaccessible, and often disconnected our chosen form of activism is—especially amidst the dangerous thrills of street skirmishes and arrests. For instance, reporting on the Democratic National Convention protests, activist Larry Everest approvingly quotes a young man, thoroughly bruised from rubber bullets, after a major police confrontation: "Damn, I wish we could do this every day." The reality, however, is that many folks *do* do that every day—as unwilling victims of police brutality and a racist, classist legal system. And along with many others, they can't afford to glibly put themselves in that situation *any* day—a reality with considerable implications for how this movement is shaping up and where our hope lies.

Rethinking radical activism

I certainly don't suggest that we give up on mass mobilizations. In fact, we need to continue engaging in major collective actions that significantly challenge the legitimacy of existing institutions. In order to do this effectively, though, we should be creating a healthy, vibrant, truly diverse movement for fundamental social change. One crucial step for privileged (and therefore often insulated) activists is pushing our outlook to encompass many forms of and tactics for effective radical activism—that is, many sources of hope.

Let me illustrate this with some wisdom gleaned from longtime radical Peter Bohmer. His striking emphasis is that everyone can contribute to social change in both "small and large ways." Simple yet crucial, this acknowledges the possibility of seemingly small efforts having important—and far-reaching—results. For example, think about Jon Strange and the other folks in Columbus, Ohio, who crashed an internationally televised "town hall meeting" with Secretary of State Madeline Albright in 1998, and successfully raised critical questions about U.S. foreign policy on Iraq. Consider the demise of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) just a couple of years ago, precipitated by small-scale letter-writing, teach-ins, city council resolutions, public education campaigns, and, yes, direct action. Or—something with which I'm more intimate—reflect on the widespread success of a handful of us graduating students at the Evergreen State College in 1999 cajoling our administration into hosting political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal as a commencement speaker. These are just a few more recent examples, buoyed by a history of small contributions having major consequences.

Recognizing small and large ways of contributing to social change means including a lot that is frequently excluded. Further, it means blurring the line between what might be considered 'small' and 'large.' Fighting reactionary ballot measures, establishing community and cultural centers, educating others creatively, demanding authentic public oversight of police, building art installations, organizing in our workplaces, sustaining nurturing relationships, challenging polluters in our communities, constructing alternative media, opposing prison construction, struggling for control over our schools, painting graffiti, planting community gardens, protesting welfare cuts, confronting oppression in our daily lives—these and many more contributions can be immeasurably powerful and deeply inspiring. Seen as complementary demands and tactics, they harbor valuable lessons about challenging power and fermenting social change. Indeed, they are the potential building blocks of a vivacious, diverse movement capable of winning key gains.

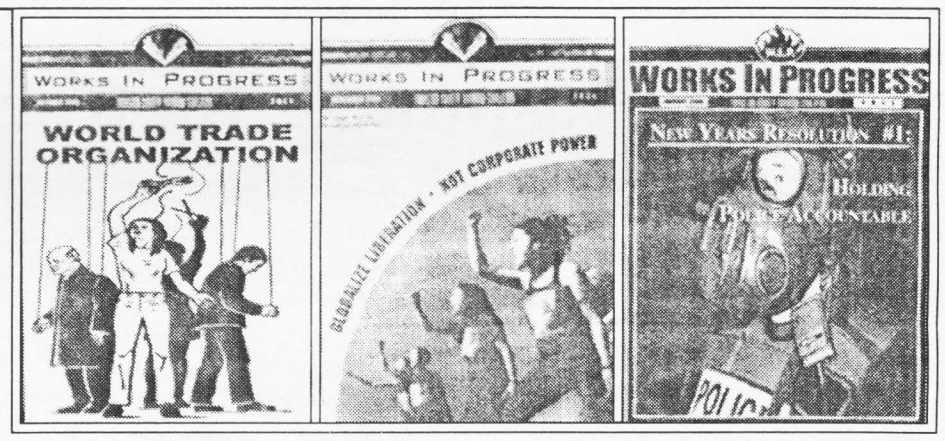
For some, these examples may not seem especially 'radical.' In fact, acknowledging multiple forms of resistance thankfully does call into question the meaning of the word *radical*. Too often this concept is defined almost exclusively by white, middle-class men, self-appointed bearers of a radical standard. I think we can do better, though; and I mean *we* in the sense of all of us who struggle in diverse ways to go to the root—to dismantle power and privilege, and fundamentally transform our society.

Pointing out that there are many ways that people act in their lives—both small and large—doesn't mean that we can't be critical, strategic, or focused in what we do and advocate. Neither can we give up our commitment, our demands on each other and ourselves. There are, however, many ways of working to change the world. Let's learn from elders like veteran activist Bernice Johnson Reagon. She reminds us that the particular 'way' or 'issue' that any one of us chooses is not *the* way or issue. If we assume that it is, we risk ignoring other possibilities for social change, and we miss out on the inspiring efforts of people all over.

Finding hope

Rethinking radical activism is about understanding social struggles in broad terms and toppling conventional hierarchies of activist 'worth.' Just as important, it's also about locating and sustaining hope. Overly fixated on mass mobilizations, we can easily lose sight of what's happening around us in our workplaces, households, classrooms, religious communities, neighborhoods, and local activist groups.

There is certainly something awe-inspiring and magical (not to mention critically effective) about large, militant actions. Indeed, the WTO protests were successful not only in disrupting the Ministerial, but also in enthusing and inspiring thousands. Yet as writer and activist Chris Crass points out, Seattle "was made possible because of all of the organizing that we do day-to-day, the often unglamorous work that makes social change happen." That is, seemingly small contributions—community outreach, creative educational efforts, coalition-building, and much more—laid the groundwork for the victories at the WTO Ministerial. The hope that many of us found in Seattle, then, wasn't an isolated event; rather, it stems from the hope that we create every day.



Examples are plentiful. Many of the best, in fact, we will likely never hear about. For one, there all of the dedicated folks who run progressive "resource centers" out of email accounts, small offices, campus buildings, or even their own apartments and houses. Often unknown beyond their communities, they provide essential resources and circulate crucial information. There are all of the grassroots welfare rights organizations nationwide, organized by some of the most demonized people in our society. Relying on shoestring budgets and all-out volunteer efforts, they keep fighting. There are the courageous indigenous peoples, such as the Gwich'in in Northern Alaska and the Dine'h in Big Mountain, Arizona, struggling for the sanctity of their lands and cultures. Steadily, they confront a colonial project that spans hundreds of years. And there are the efforts of those working covertly in the Animal Liberation Front, the Earth Liberation Front, underground anti-biotechnology groups, and others still unknown. My feeling is that we're going to see more, not less, of these kinds of actions.

Keep in mind that this is only a snapshot. Even these examples don't adequately represent the real breadth of inspirational resistance. Everywhere there are folks who continue to plug away—largely unknown—steadily transforming the world, each day, each week, each month, each year. At times barely audible, at times deafening, these efforts can supply a sustained sense of hope to last us well beyond our memories of Seattle and other recent mobilizations—and carry us into even bigger, more successful, more innovative ones.

Building a movement

Just over a year after the WTO protests, we are at a crossroads. Actually, we are at many crossroads, with critical questions of strategy, vision, and goals, among others. However, one particularly defining choice concerns how we understand and build this movement. On one hand, we can exclusively pin our hopes on what seasoned radicals Jenn Bowman and Summer Thomas call "activist tourism": organizing for militant direct actions across the world, carrying each to a crescendo, moving on after the often anticlimactic outcomes, and calling this 'the movement.' On the other hand, we can complement mass mobilizations with a more multidimensional focus on diverse forms of radical activism. And further, we can recognize and ally ourselves with preexisting movements of diverse peoples who are organizing in their communities—and have been for a long time. Obviously, I think the latter holds more promise—more hope—for building a healthy, sustained, inclusive movement (or coalition of movements) struggling for fundamental social change on the edge of the twenty-first century.

We can move in this direction. Indeed, a genuine strength of this burgeoning movement, in my view, is its growing willingness to discuss multiple tactics. Black bloc anarchists in Seattle, for example, managed not only to successfully inflict damage on corporate targets, but also to initiate an ongoing discussion about the many ways that we can and do engage in social struggle. Of course, this discussion isn't always so civil—at times full of recriminations and self-righteousness—but I think it's a beginning. If we can steer beyond confining debates about street tactics at mass mobilizations, we can perhaps begin to appreciate and consider diverse tactics and forms of activism in many other areas and circumstances.

I don't hesitate to say that we are forging a new politics, an innovative resistance with a vibrant sense of hope. And there is, as Michael Albert explains, a "logic" to this dissent: "Raise ever-enlarging threats to agendas that elites hold dear by growing in size and diversifying in focus and tactics until they meet our demands, and then go for more." Mobilizations are undisputedly crucial flare points for this, moments of gaining ground, captivating public attention, consolidating gains, and solidifying our resolve. Yet they are only one set of tools among a multitude of focuses and tactics.

Ultimately, social transformation requires a broader approach encompassing a truly radical movement (or movements) composed by the daily activism of mothers, farmers, African Americans, youth, sex workers, immigrants, artists, queers, factory laborers, teachers, environmentalists, service employees, indigenous peoples, anarchists, poor people, and all of the other overlapping, diverse sectors of our society.

That is where I find hope after Seattle.

Chris Dixon (chrisak@tao.ca) is a radical Alaskan, activist, and writer currently based in Corvallis, Oregon. He is completing a book entitled Critical Hope. ●

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by Steve Herrick

KAOS Responds to Recent Publicity

Juli Kelen
KAOS General Manager (acting)

I have read with interest Megan Davis' detailed reporting on the history of KAOS Radio, where I have been an employee for over twelve years. It was a pleasure to help her with her research, and to work with such a dedicated and intelligent young journalist. Unfortunately, I must correct her portrayal of some of the facts and events concerning the radio station. Additionally, it is long past time that KAOS responded to the accusations of former programmer Austin Kelley, made (among other places) in the pages of the November *Works in Progress*. Therefore this letter will be in two parts.

Regarding the issue of KAOS' mission statement, the "before" and "after" versions: Ms. Davis, in her history of *KAOS Part 2*, surprised me by stating that the original mission statement, drafted primarily by student Program Director Diana Arens, was "quietly" replaced. I (and others) had taken pains to clarify for her that there was nothing at all quiet about the old mission statement's replacement. First: all KAOS' meetings are, by law, open to the the public, and minutes are posted in the station hallway, and over the internet. The drafting of the new mission statement was conducted by student and professional staff, and all our working drafts were posted in that hallway before any final determination was made. Of course, it is not news to me that certain KAOS volunteers walk by these bulletin boards each week, without taking note of what may be posted on them.

The real reason for replacing the mission statement was this: a mission statement is an exercise in abstract thinking. It should be less inclined to itemize, than to conceptualize. The old mission statement was a good-hearted, right-minded and sincere attempt, by a college student, at drafting a radio station mission. But KAOS needs credibility in a larger sphere than college radio. We are struggling, as an organization, to mature, and we sought to articulate a mission for ourselves that reflected the broadest possible view of what we mean by serving "the interests of people historically ignored by the media".

Ms. Davis also misrepresents the facts when she states, in regard to the programming committee that makes KAOS decisions about the use of on-air time, that "professional staff people have the majority vote." Currently, the committee consists of two professional staff, one programmer-at-large, two students and a temporary worker. Um... you do the math. (When KAOS hires a new General Manager, the count will be three on three... not that any of the rest of us see this as a power struggle). Ms. Davis' implication that the formation of that committee was in some way connected with the Healthy Station Project recommendations of David LePage is entirely hallucinatory. It would take major time for me to put before you all the details of why that committee was created. I will simplify by stating that it was conceived of as a support system for student Program Directors, who all too often have been "thrown to the wolves", at KAOS, in having to mete out discipline to set-in-their-ways, been-here-for-15-years programmers, older than the PD's parents. Call me sentimental, but I just hate to see student blood spilled on KAOS carpeting.

Finally, I must object to Ms. Davis' indictment of the radio station for holding "no public, all-station discussion of the (communications) audit...". The memo describing the interim report was, in fact, the invitation to just such a discussion. Again, the meetings involving then-General Manager Michael Huntsberger, then-Development Director Anne deMarcken, and Richard Brudvik-Lindner, the volunteer conducting the research, were not held at midnight in the steam tunnels. Anyone reading KAOS' posted meeting minutes, who cared, could have asked about the process. The programmers blew up only when word got back to them that some listeners thought they sounded bad.

* * *

Austin Kelley has frequently sounded off about KAOS in the pages of *Works in Progress*. His diatribes are typically laced with half-truths and what we may politely call "inaccuracies", and several of these must be addressed at this time.

In his November article "Will KAOS support *Democracy, Now!*?" Kelley alleges that KAOS had not taken action in support of Amy Goodman. Although it is true that Mr. Kelley is no longer a KAOS programmer, he could, through KAOS-associated friends, easily have learned that I did send a strongly-worded message to Pacifica Board members, requiring an explanation for the apparent attempts to restrict Amy Goodman in her role of *DN!* producer. A copy of my message remains posted on the (by now world-famous) KAOS bulletin board.

Although I was grateful to Mr. Kelley for providing additional information about the developing situation between Amy Goodman and her employers at Pacifica, I did, indeed, weary of his insistence that I stake out a position, when it was clear to me that the Amy/Pacifica conflict was multi-faceted, deep and still emerging. I, for one, was eager to consider as much information as possible, before jumping on any bandwagon. But for the truculent Mr. Kelley, a grand bandwagon-jumper, this simply showed that I was not a true believer. And the minute our discussions degenerate into who's a truer-believer than who else, we all lose.

The fact is that Amy Goodman's conflict with Pacifica is not something we can affect, really, except to hop around and holler. Sure, we can cut off our Pacifica affiliation, and lose two daily news programs, for which there are no replacements, plus other weekly shows that we receive from the Pacifica satellite ("Our Americas", and "Between the Lines", to name just a couple). That will really serve our community well. Not.

In fact, it's a scathing indictment of the maturity of our activist community that, at the same time as the Amy/Pacifica controversy erupted, another, arguably much more serious issue for public broadcasting loomed large on the horizon, and yet was ignored. I'm speaking of H.R. 4201, legislation that would severely undercut public and community radio as we know it, and hand a big freebie to the religious right. (For more information, please contact me at the station: 867-6897 — although, by the time you read this, it may be too late.) But it was ever so much easier to get all hot 'n' bothered about Pacifica, the easy-to-identify enemy with a name, and a face. Bessie Wash bad! Steven Yasko bad! How much more challenging to take on a distant, shapeless enemy — but one we actually had a chance to defeat, by working with our representatives in (the other) Washington. This fall's events suggest that our activist community would rather yell and name-call, than work.

Should Amy Goodman cut loose from Pacifica and produce a news program independently, you can bet that KAOS will be eager to bring it to our listeners.

Readers of *WIP* must bear in mind that Austin Kelley is a dismissed KAOS programmer with legal action pending against The Evergreen State College, and a huge axe to grind against the radio station. No matter how often nor how loudly he shouts it, he was not dismissed from the radio station for exercising his right to free speech; his right to free speech was extensively, even lavishly accommodated at KAOS. Mr. Kelley will seize eagerly upon any opportunity to discredit KAOS, no matter how thin, or non-existent, the pretext. His diatribes in these pages are the way this disgruntled former volunteer goes postal. When we let individuals with unstated person agendas frame important discussions, the truth will ever elude us.

The discussion around Amy Goodman and *Democracy, Now!* is important, but talk about the truth eluding us...! Recent missives from Pacifica Foundation refute Amy's accusations, point-by-point. Amy's counter-accusations refute Pacifica's. Do I believe Pacifica? Not entirely. Do I believe Amy? Same answer. Will we ever know the truth? I deeply doubt it. What I feel sure of is that there is some hyperbole and "rearrangement" of the facts, on both sides.

Equally, I feel sure that KAOS listeners value *Democracy, Now!* exactly the way it is, and would be ill-served by any watering-down of that program's news coverage. I will lose no opportunity to make that point to Pacifica's board members and executive management. KAOS listeners who feel moved to weigh in with their own opinions, should certainly do so... the November *WIP* contained a complete list of Pacifica email addresses and FAX numbers... but don't expect miracles. Should Amy Goodman cut loose from Pacifica and produce a news program independently, you can bet that KAOS will be eager to bring it to our listeners.

A called-for November 16th boycott of Pacifica programs may or may not be observed, as such, by KAOS. No doubt, true believers will cry "Unclean!" if we don't. At this writing the KAOS staff has not had a chance to consider it. I will state that I personally do not favor a boycott; I believe that censorship is not best fought with more censorship. I like more information, not less. We stand ready to acquire whatever special programming is available, regarding the issue, and are at work on a special of our own, about the Amy/*Democracy Now!* controversy.

I'd like to thank *Works in Progress* for giving me the opportunity to respond in its pages. KAOS stands, and has always stood, for free speech. It's good to know there is an independent newspaper in our area, that stands for the same. ●

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(Palestinian, continued)

absurdity of his claims. Rarely if ever does the press inform its readers that East Jerusalem, as well as the entire West Bank and Gaza, are under a totally illegal Israeli occupation that has for 33 years stood in violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions demanding unconditional withdrawal; or that the massive Israeli settlement project, completely funded by U.S. taxpayers, is a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Conventions and other international law. These have disappeared into irrelevant historical detail.

Instead of facts relevant to an informed public we receive only images designed to enflame passions and appeal to deep-seated anti-Arab prejudices. On Oct. 23, the *Seattle Times* carried an article by Nomi Morris on the "Mideast's Little Martyrs" that reached truly spectacular levels of racism and ignorance, actually blaming Palestinian children for their own deaths. "Behind their deaths is a powerful religious tradition that prizes sacrifices for the betterment of Palestinians and Muslims everywhere", and "the concept of martyrdom is tied to the very basis of the faith". So it is not Israeli soldiers that are "behind their deaths" after all, and when the Israeli army illegally deploys in Arab towns and villages and deliberately guns down 40 children armed only with stones, this is not a crime of war, and is not even a crime at all, since they are merely dispatching the young martyrs to meet Allah, as they themselves wished for!

Even the dead children of Palestine are offered for our condescension, their culture and society subjected to the pitiless gaze of our ever-so-moderate Western superiority. We learn nothing from our media of the real lives of Palestinians. We are ignorant of the suffering of millions of lives stunted by a half century of dispossession and brutal military occupation. We do not meet the weeping mothers burying their beloved children in the squalid refugee camps of Gaza. We hear of no Christian families in Bethlehem watching Israeli bulldozers rip thousand-year-old olive trees from their orchards, destroying their homes with missiles, and stealing a few hundred more acres in the unending campaign of ethnic cleansing. We see nothing, we understand nothing, because our brains are anesthetized by years of the mantra-like repetition of banalities like "ancient religious conflict," "violence on both sides," "Islamic Terror." Then we become blind to the simple reality that is so undeniably obvious: that the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians is one of total domination. Political, economic, and especially military domination. Israel has consciously undertaken, and has to a great extent accomplished its project of dismembering Palestinian society, carving up its territory to isolate the population in disconnected fragments of land, separated by hundreds of Israeli settlements, highways and military checkpoints. Palestinians are at the mercy of Israel for the very means of survival—food transport, water, fuel, access to employment. Israel turns these lifelines on and off at will to force Palestinian submission. Nor is this intended as a temporary arrangement, but in fact constitutes the very nature of the "Palestinian State" envisioned by the Israelis and trumpeted by Anthony Lewis as "surely a basis for agreement."

The remarkable courage of Palestinians in confronting the overwhelming military power of Israel, refusing against all odds to submit to the humiliation being forced upon them, is not to be called "rioting" or "terror." It is a powerful testament to human dignity, and deserves the active support of everyone willing to look through the campaign of lies and vilification. At this moment Israel is preparing a large-scale assault on a civilian population that is largely defenseless. We as Americans are financing it, and protecting it with the cloak of American power at the United Nations. We can and must put a stop to it before it is too late.

Tom Wright directed the 1997 documentary Checkpoint: The Palestinians After Oslo. *He spent a year in the Occupied Territories, and now lives in Olympia.* ●

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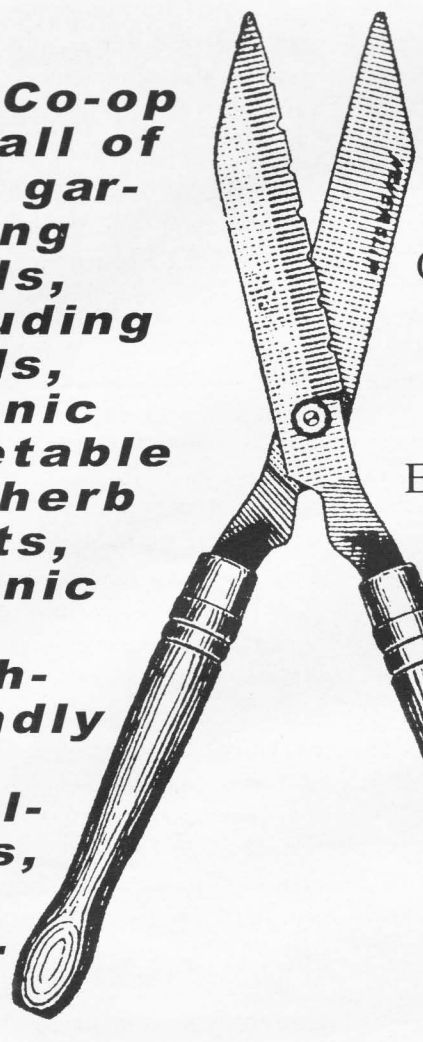

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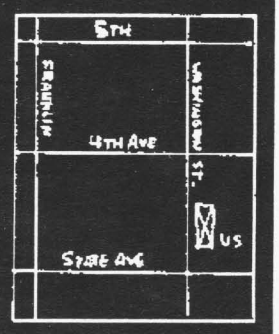

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The Social Impact of Genital Herpes

Eleanor Rigby's Little Secret

Amy Levinson, MPA

Anyone who remembers lonely Eleanor Rigby, memorialized in a Beatles song, knows something was wrong with her. Could it be that Eleanor had genital herpes, the HSV 2 infection? She felt what people with a diagnosis of herpes can relate to; feelings of loneliness, depression, and a sense of being set apart from the mainstream. Society lost Eleanor, but at what cost?

A diagnosis of herpes can have a variety of unforeseen effects on people's lives, their families and their jobs. As with any other chronic condition, society can suffer along with the individual. Subcultures are created when people are differentiated, and set apart by their conditions, such as herpes. As with any minority, the mainstream culture may inculcate misinformation and stigmatization, which can lead to marginalization and further stratification of those that "don't fit in." This has a most definite rebound effect upon society.

The Economics of Herpes

The medical cost of genital herpes in the United States was recently analyzed in the January, 2000 issue of Sexually Transmitted Disease. Researchers noted that 45 million Americans are infected with genital herpes, which is a 30 percent increase in the past two decades. In the U.S, there was an annual total of 499,655 clinic visits, and 2,056,1180 pharmacy visits directly related to genital herpes diagnoses. Genital herpes accounted for $207 million in U.S. dollars in 1999. Of the total cost, medical care from doctors, or at public STD clinics accounted for 36 percent, and drug treatment was responsible for 64 percent of the total. Researchers concluded that "genital herpes is a major public health problem with a substantial economic burden." World-wide the medical costs could be even more, with increasing prevalence rates in many countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Very little research has been done to quantify the effects of herpes on the workplace. Chronic conditions in general reduce productivity among workers and cause more lost work days, which should be the jumping off point for research in this area. Interestingly, herpes is not generally seen as a disability, although the effects are similar in the workplace. Herpes sufferers don't usually share their diagnosis with management or supervisors. Because of the hidden nature of herpes, the fact that it is genital and sexually transmitted, many sufferers feel embarrassed, or shameful. If the illness was brought out into the open, sick workers could demand accommodation in the workplace, such as seating that does not further irritate, telecommuting options during flare-ups, etc.

Research on the economic effects of herpes is limited because the measurements are hard to develop and quantify. Funding for research has declined and herpes does not seem to be a primary focus of STD research today. Dr. Hunter Handsfield, the primary author of a July, 1998 Center for Disease Control and Prevention study, says that the focus of research is on the more menacing and fatal HIV/AIDS virus, whose rise throughout the last decade may have contributed to the declining research on herpes. Handsfield also mentions the difficulty in quantifying economic and social costs, writing, "That psychological stress and depression are major effects of so many people with herpes is unequivocal. What's not so certain is the cost to that country; how frequent is it, how many person-years of work are lost as a result, what are the economic consequence and how do you quantify social consequence."

Problematic is the fact herpes disproportionately effects women and minorities, although it crosses all race, class and gender boundaries. According to the CDC, "HSV-2 infection is more common in women (approximately one out of four women) than in men (almost one out of five) and is also more common in blacks (45.9%) than in whites (17.6%)." Women and people of color earn less than white men world-wide. People who have less earning power may not have access to resources to get them over hard times, such as recurrences of herpes. This may include a lack of savings to cover expenses produced by lost work days, especially if they work in jobs that do not provide paid sick leave. Workers who have less power also can be threatened with job loss if they do not show up, or take a day off. With union membership at it's all-time lowest, a little over 10 percent here in the U.S., adequate sick leave policies are rarer and rarer. Sexual minorities are not protected under U.S. law in their workplace and may be targeted for firing if they lose too many work days, or have declining productivity due to recurrences of herpes.

In countries which lack universal health care, women and minorities make up the vast bulk of those with out health insurance. In 1996, in the States, a full 37.4 percent of private sector workers, who make up 80 percent of the workforce, did not have employer-sponsored health coverage. 40.3 percent of African American workers were not covered, as were a whopping 54.8 percent of Latino workers. Companies which don't offer health care are unlikely to be sympathetic or have policies that protect workers against discrimination based on illness, even if the worker with herpes discloses the nature of the illness to management. Paying for health care and treatment for herpes outbreaks out-of-pocket is a costly proposition.

Clinician and Patient Education

Epidemiologists who measure disease prevalence and location point out that herpes research and education can be hampered by the clinician's lack of knowledge about the disease. Social and economic costs could be decreased with appropriate treatment by clinicians. Some clinicians simply do not keep up with current standards of treatment. A 1999 WebMD story, written by journalist Paul Engstrom quotes Dr. Fleming, a New Jersey-based epidemiologist. He says, "I think it's less common for a doctor who knows enough about this subject to say to him or herself, 'This person has crossed the threshold where they could benefit from suppressant therapy.' Fleming's point is that the folks who could gain the most benefit from suppressive therapy may not receive it, due to a lack of skilled management of the disease, by clinicians who are not up on the literature.

Is herpes the hidden epidemic? According to the literature, it is. A Gallup survey recently asked people to name sexually transmitted diseases other than HIV/AIDS. Only 17 percent included herpes. In the same survey, respondents were asked what they believed prevalence rates were. The answer: "The vast majority believe that the prevalence of genital herpes is on the order of 1 in 1000 or 1 in 500 or 1 in 100. Only 2% correctly guessed the actual prevalence." Actual rates hover around 1 in 5.

Herpes may not be in the public eye anymore because of a variety of factors, including a shift away from the pandemonium-like atmosphere that prevailed in the 1970s through the 80's, as herpes diagnosis were on the rise. Dr. Britt Smith, a physician with Washington State-based Group Health Cooperative remembers telling an American soldier that he had herpes in the early 80's, and the GI promptly fainted. Now completely overshadowed by the life-threatening HIV/AIDS virus, a genital herpes diagnosis may be treated in a more blasé manner by clinicians, but still can be devastating to patients. Diana Johnson, in her study on the social stigmatization of genital herpes writes, "The traditional role of the physician brings him into contact with people when they are in a state of crisis. At such times, his understanding of the nature of crisis situations is critical...he must have the skills to exert a powerful, but personalized effect, guiding patients toward adaptive solutions."

Psychosocial Issues

That does not mean that there is no initial reaction when one is diagnosed. Depression and fear are some of the most commonly reported responses to a diagnosis and may linger, or recur with outbreaks. In a dissertation around issues of coping with a genital herpes diagnosis, Shirley Gordon cites fear as the basic social psychological problem faced by people who participated in her study. Three types of fear were most prevalent; fear of pain, disclosure and passing it on. She notes that the most critical intervention was to help patients manage their fear through control. This included helping people figure out who and how to tell, recognizing triggers and signs of recurrences, and forgiving and moving on.

A 1999 study reported in the Journal of Advanced Nursing found that people who participated in a three-session group that offered education and support was an effective intervention. Telling one's partner and not being in denial were cited as signs of a positive adaptation to the diagnosis in the peer reviewed journal, Sexually Transmitted Disease. Who to tell, though? Researchers in the College Student Journal assessed a group of college students general knowledge of herpes. They were looking for a correlation between knowledge and a supportive reaction if one is told that a friend had genital herpes. They found females more likely to be supportive, and those who have some knowledge around the issue.

People find out and gain knowledge about herpes in a variety of ways. Unfortunately, in a study published in a 1999 issue of the International Journal of STD's and AIDS, the media was a common source of information. Not very good information indeed, as almost 1/3 of the participants thought that their doctor "would think negatively of them should they acquire the disease." This has heralded a call for physicians to provide more education, compassion and sensitivity," according to research reported in Post Graduate Medicine.

Stressed Out

Although there is a widespread belief that stress increases recurrences of herpes, research has not proved that this is the case. Stress, though, can have impacts on quality of life, work and family relationships. Most research supports the notion that the majority of people are able to adjust emotionally, through coping mechanisms, social support, long term medical management and education.

Officially Speaking

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention notes that, on top of the problems of quantifying the social effects of herpes, there exists confusion in reporting, whether it be systemic, clinician or patient related. In their report entitled, "Magnitude and Burden of Herpes," the CDC says "Poor understanding of the natural history (especially of initially subclinical infection), incidence of complications, and direct and indirect costs of genital herpes makes it difficult to assess societal costs and the cost effectiveness of prevention. Moreover, local and regional data are generally unavailable to program planners, health care providers, or the public."

Making Necessary Changes

The physical impact and treatment of a herpes outbreak may be first and foremost on the sufferers mind. But, the social and economic impacts, as well as the effects on the individual's emotional state can have more wide-spread effects. Poor Eleanor Rigby didn't have to be such a lonely person because, really, she wasn't alone! A combination of appropriate treatment, patient and clinician education, and bringing the subject out into the open would do much to stop the social disenfranchisement of genital herpes sufferers. The economic burden of herpes on society could potentially be reduced through work place accommodation of this chronic condition. Certainly, firms would save money in the long run by accommodating the needs of their workers. In societies where the burden falls most heavily on the uninsured and unskilled work force, policies such as extended health coverage to all segments of society, and changes in employer rules which require paid sick leave for all is warranted. ●

Briefs, continued

sion on December 5th at the City Council Chambers.

For more information on this issue and other renters' rights, contact the Thurston County Tenants Union at 943-3036 or come by the office at 203 E. 4th Ave #412 in downtown Olympia.

RU-486 Made Available to American Women

"Women across the country will soon be able to choose mifepristone to end a very early pregnancy," said Vicki Saporta, Executive Director of the National Abortion Federation. "The FDA's approval of mifepristone on September 28 brought with it the promise of a new medical breakthrough in early abortion care for American women. That promise can now be realized."

Saporta continued, "To ensure that women are able to access mifepristone, we have developed a public service campaign that offers information about this option." The campaign will run in online media, national magazines, and on college campuses around the country.

"American women deserve access to the same safe reproductive health care options as women around the world," said Saporta. "...With the availability of mifepristone, we will finally reach that goal." However, the "availability" of RU-486 is limited to women with health insurance that will cover the procedure, women with the economic means to pay for the procedure without insurance, and women who have access to an abortion provider in their community. Approximately 86% of all U.S. counties and 95% of all rural U.S. counties have no abortion provider. For more information on the web about RU-486, go to http://www.earlyoptions.org/w_guide.html

ACLU Slams "Carnivore"

The American Civil Liberties Union greeted with skepticism but little surprise preliminary reports on a new FBI Internet surveillance tool, saying that a biased review team guaranteed a pat on the head to the system known as Carnivore.

The Carnivore system — essentially a computer running specialized software — is attached to an Internet Service Provider's network and searches through all of its customers' electronic messages (including e-mail, web addresses and instant messages) looking for the messages of a person suspected of a crime.

"What surprises me is not that the review team is telling reporters that they gave a thumbs-up to Carnivore, but that they expect anyone outside of the government to take this report seriously," said Barry Steinhardt, Associate Director of the ACLU.

The report is part of a review process grudgingly agreed to by the Justice Department to examine the technical capabilities of the system. Despite the review team's assurances in news stories today that Carnivore does not "overcollect" evidence, documents obtained through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request by the ACLU clearly state that Carnivore could "reliably capture and archive all unfiltered traffic to the internal hard drive."

Dozens of politicians from across the political spectrum have called on Attorney General Janet Reno to suspend the use of Carnivore until Congress can determine its legality. The ACLU said it will ask the new Attorney General to do so when she or he takes office early next year.

UFW Ends 16-Year Boycott of Grapes

The United Farm Workers of America declared an end to its protracted boycott of California table grapes. UFW President Arturo S. Rodriguez said he ended the UFW's third grape boycott, which began 16 years ago, because of a recent string of farm worker victories that included the elimination of many of the pesticides the embargo had targeted.

"Some goals of that boycott have already been met," Rodriguez said in a letter to a farm worker support group. "Cesar Chavez's crusade to eliminate use of five of the most toxic chemicals plaguing farm workers and their families has been largely successful.

"It is not fair to ask our supporters to honor a boycott," Rodriguez said, "when the union must devote all of its present resources toward organizing and negotiating contracts."

Some union activists said they would continue to shun table grapes. "Table grape workers continue to suffer poverty pay, poor working conditions and mistreatment on the job," said UFW spokesman Marc Grossman. "We look forward to the day where table grape workers too can enjoy the blessings of organized labor." For more information on the web, go to http://www.ufw.org/ufw/

10,000 Gather to Close the US Army School of the Americas

Over 10,000 people from all over the Americas gathered at the gates of Ft. Benning on November 19 to demand the closure of the U.S. Army School of the Americas (SOA). Over 3,600 risked arrest by crossing onto the base in a massive act of civil disobedience. Thousands were called to express their outrage at the deadly impacts of U.S. counterinsurgency training on Latin American communities. More than 2,100 protesters including clergy, students, veterans, grandparents were arrested and processed. They were given letters banning and barring them from entering the base for five years. The protesters were taken to local parks and released.

In Chiapas, Mexico 300 members of the civil society group Las Abejas fasted and prayed simultaneously with the Georgia action. At great personal risk, Mexican human rights activists planted corn in soil at a military camp in Chiapas in a coordinated symbolic action. The vigil featured speakers from Chiapas and Colombia, as well as several other Latin American nations. Both Colombia and Chiapas have been targeted for massive U.S. military aid and counterinsurgency training.

Colombia has more SOA graduates (10,000) than any other nation. Paramilitary death squads are a key element of civilian targeted warfare as it is taught at the SOA. "We know the names of the generals and the high-ranking officers implicated in these killings, and nothing has been done," said LuisEduardo Guerra, a Colombian peace activist whose community has repeatedly been targeted by paramilitaries. "We know that the officers who trained the paramilitaries were trained at the School of the Americas."

For more information on the web, go to School of Americas Watch website at www.soaw.org

December 9th International Day Of Action & Week Of Activity To Stop The Death Penalty & The Execution Of Mumia Abu-Jamal

On December 9th anti-death penalty activists, lovers of justice and freedom and people of good conscience around the world will protest the violation of Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal's constitutional rights. The date marks the anniversary of the night Jamal was shot, arrested, and framed for the murder of a Philadelphia Police Officer.

19 years later, this political prisoner, long time critic of police brutality, former president of the Black Journalists Association and the world's most recognized death row inmate, awaits a decision by Federal District Curt Judge William H. Yohn Jr. on his petition for a writ of habeas corpus. This is a decision on the constitutionality of Mumia's "trial" before Judge Albert Sabo, widely known as the "hanging Judge." We are demanding justice and a full hearing by the federal court.

It's Five Minutes to Midnight! What we do now matters more than ever. We call on everyone to join in protest for Mumia and against the death penalty during the week beginning on Dec. 4th and culminating in an International Day of Action on Dec. 9th, in the spirit of Shaka Sankofa. Here are some events you can take part in in cities across the country and around the world:

Monday-Friday: Students on Campuses will be organizing flyering, meetings, and teach-ins to help build for Saturday's International Day of Action

Monday, Dec. 4th - Kick off day for Mumia Week. Also anniversary of the assassination of Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Wednesday, Dec. 6th - "Resisters Day" - Support for those arrested in Actions for Mumia

Saturday, Dec, 9th - INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Sunday, Dec. 10th - International Human Rights Day with the Presentation of 1,000,000 signatures to the United Nations for an international Moratorium on the death penalty and day of action for Leonard Peltier

Monday, Dec. 11th - International Delegation to Janet Reno and the U.S. Justice Department on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Some things you can do:

*** Help distribute one million leaflets across the United States in this week (available at the Food Co-ops)**

*** Hang banners in public areas - make Mumia visible everywhere (Posters available from W.I.P.)**

*** Programs, speak-outs, teach-ins, local marches, and actions**

*** "Button Days" to wear buttons for Mumia at schools & work (available at Rainy Day Records)**

*** Get on local media with the Mumia spoken word CD or music recorded in Honor of Mumia (Call KAOS)**

*** Organize to stand with Mumia in Philadelphia on his first day in Federal Court (Date: TBA)**

For more information or to endorse this call, contact the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, 215-476-8812, or <mumia.org>

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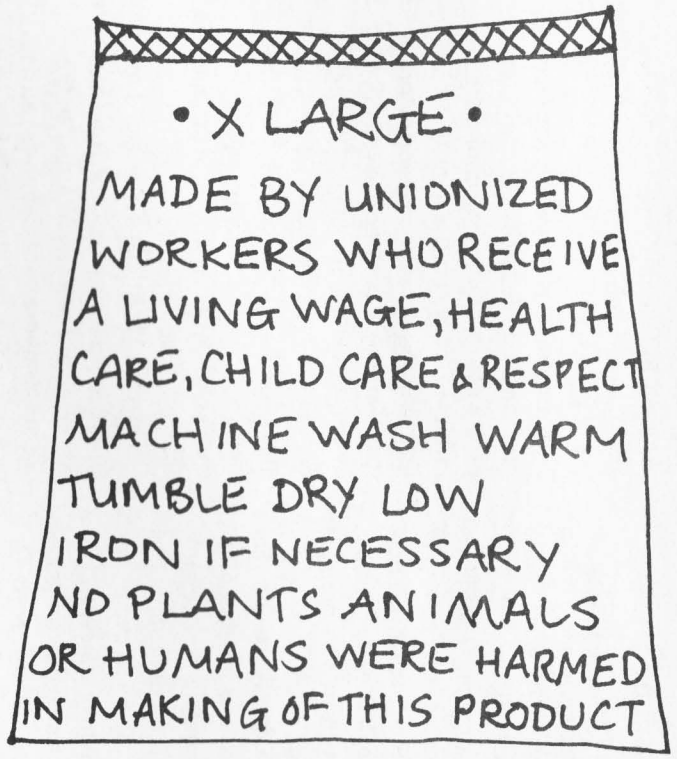

the movement against sweatshops builds page 1

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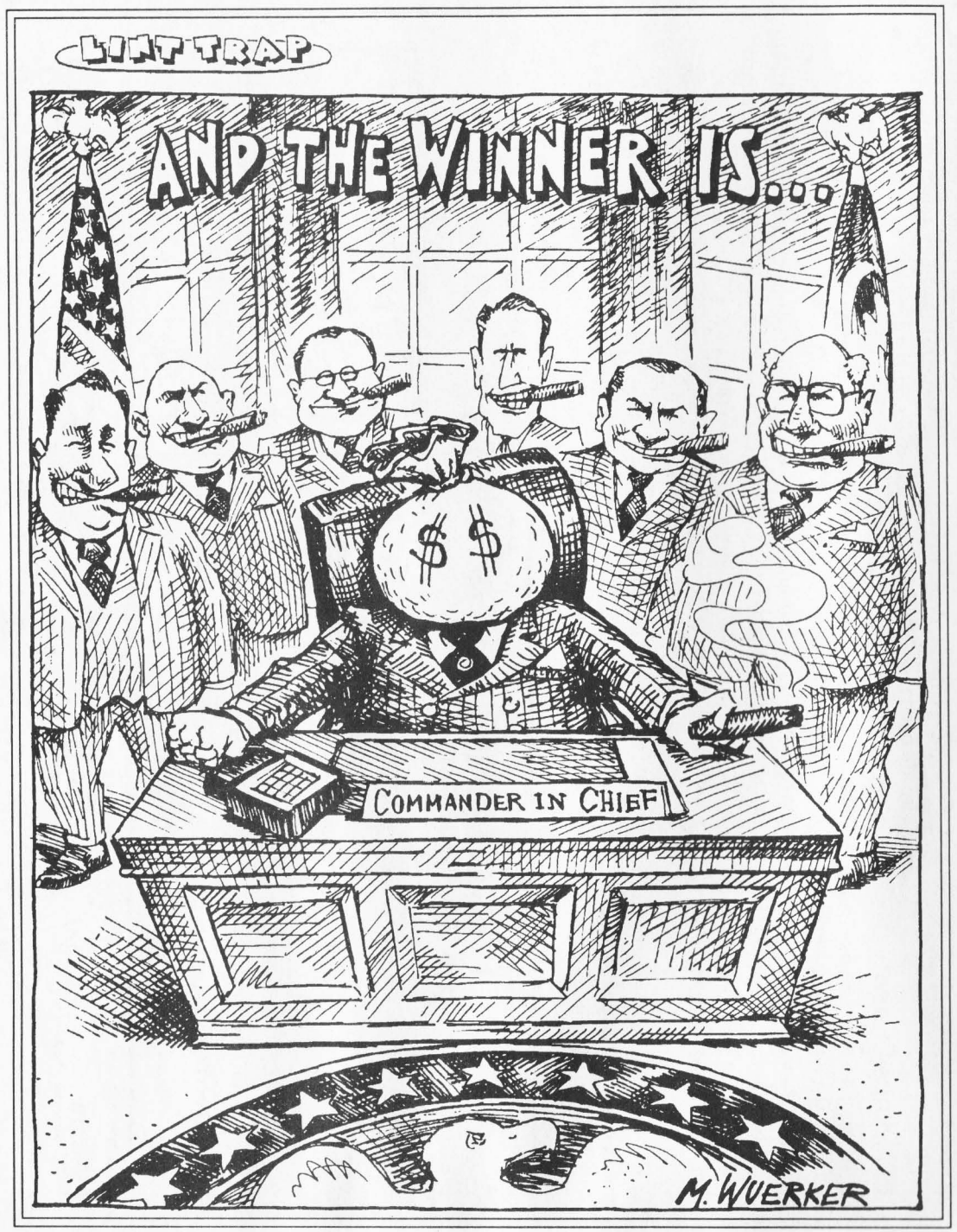

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